

Conversation No. 705-1

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 8:36 am and 8:57 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

Bull left at an unknown time before 8:57 am.

Conversation No. 705-2

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 8:57 am - 9:55 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Vietnam

-Military operations

-Reports from Military Region One

-Tank battle

-Quang Tri

-North Vietnamese losses

-Tanks

-Numbers

-Personnel

-Numbers

-South Vietnamese claims

-North Vietnamese attacks

-Coordination

-Problems

-Reports from US advisors

-Kissinger's view

-Use of tanks

-Possible difficulties

-George S. Patton

-Performance comparisons

-South Vietnamese artillery

-Success

-South Vietnamese tanks

-Effectiveness

- Region One
 - Casualties
 - Press reports
- The President's television speech
 - Kissinger's opposition
 - Sense of crisis
 - Kissinger's upcoming conversation with H. R. ("Bob")aldeman Conv. No. 705.19 (cont.)
- Military operations
 - Region Two
 - B-52 strikes
 - Status
 - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.'s presence at meeting
 - The President's plan
 - Military operations
 - Vinh
 - Air strikes
 - B-52s
 - B-52s
 - Use in North Vietnam
 - 1968
 - Impact
 - Soviets
 - The President's speech
 - Kissinger's opposition
 - Administration's proposed show of strength
 - Negotiations
 - Domestic opinion
 - Ground forces
 - US policies
 - Attrition
 - President's view

Alexander M. Haig, Jr. entered at 9:02 am.

- Military operations
 - Weather in Region One
 - Concentration of force
 - Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, Jr. and Gen. John W. Vogt, Jr.
 - Region Three
 - Saigon
 - Air strikes
 - Region One
 - Timing
 - Scope of attacks
 - US Air Force [USAF]
 - Weather
 - B-52s
 - Bomb damage assessments
 - Expanse in area
 - Weather
 - Increase in tonnage

- Abrams and Vogt
- Need to concentrate force
 - President's view
 - Improvements in strategy
 - Compared with Lyndon B. Johnson
 - The President's instructions to Haig
- An loc
 - Situation of South Vietnamese division
 - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] defections
 - News reports
 - New York Times* reporter in Paris
- Military operations
 - B-52s
 - Past use against North Vietnam
 - Washington Post* and *New York Times* reports
 - South Vietnamese performance
 - Ground forces
 - North Vietnamese tanks
 - Destruction
 - Public relations value
 - Air strikes
 - First division
 - Hue
 - Destroyers
 - Damage and casualties
 - Chance of South Vietnamese success
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Kissinger's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Haig left at 9:09 am.

- Military operations
 - Air strikes on Vinh
 - Radar
 - Accuracy
 - Damage reports
 - Effectiveness
 - North Vietnam's reaction
 - Necessity
 - Kissinger's approval
 - Melvin R. Laird and Abrams
 - Psychological impact
 - North Vietnamese offensive
 - Chance of failure
 - B-52 strikes
 - Air field, truck parts
 - Blockade
 - Instruction to Adm. Thomas H. Moorer
 - Establishment
 - Hanoi
 - Impact on negotiations

- USSR
 - Dobrynin
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - The President's view
- Negotiations
 - Private talks
 - Possible USSR purpose
 - The President's instructions to Kissinger
 - Possible settlement
 - Advantages to US
 - Kissinger's view
 - The President's upcoming speech
 - J. William Fulbright's criticism
 - The President's speech
 - Problems
 - Kissinger's concern
 - Opposition's criticism
 - Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie
 - Anthony Lewis's article in *New York Times*
 - Lewis
 - Impact on public opinion
 - The President's view
 - Domestic opposition to war
 - The President's trip to Philadelphia
 - Timing
 - The President's trip to Canada
 - Demonstrations
 - Press reports
 - The President's trip to Philadelphia
 - Demonstrations
 - Impact on Hanoi
 - Kissinger's opinion
 - Demonstrations
 - Kissinger's message to Dobrynin
 - US stance
 - Compared to Johnson
 - News reports
 - Alarmism
 - Abrams's interview
 - Benefits and potential drawbacks
 - Charles G. ("Bebe") Rebozo's opinion
 - North Vietnamese offensive
 - The President's speech
 - Success of Vietnamization
 - Winston S. Churchill
 - Disadvantages
 - Sense of crisis
 - Compared with Laos operation
 - Haldeman's view
 - Previous support from Kissinger
 - Tchepone

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- Public opinion
 - People's Republic of China [PRC] trip
 - Polls
 - Problems
 - Soviet summit
 - Impact of US success and failure
 - Polls
 - Polls
 - Soviet arms
 - India
 - Southeast Asia
- The President's speech
 - Soviet role in Vietnam
 - Use of latest technological equipment
 - Support of South Vietnam
 - Morale
 - US role
 - Air and naval power support
 - North Vietnamese success
 - Soviet role in Vietnam
 - Damage to US credibility
 - Encouragement to aggression
 - Middle East
 - The Americans
 - Europe
 - Stakes of war
- William L. Safire
- State Department [?]
- Soviet role
 - Haig's previous conversation with the President
 - Haig's view
 - W[illiam] Averell Harriman
 - Past interpretations
 - Henry Cabot lodge
 - The President's previous visits to Vietnam
 - Lodge's previous visits to Vietnam
 - Compared to Kissinger
 - Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor
 - William J. Porter
 - Objectives
 - PRC
 - India-Pakistan War
 - William P. Rogers and State Department
 - Objectives
 - Jordan
 - Syria
- The President's analysis
 - Kissinger's agreement
- Signing ceremony for the convention of chemical and biological weapons [CBW]
 - Timing

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- The President's remarks
 - Kissinger's view
- The President's speech
 - Advantages and disadvantages
 - Negotiations
 - Domino theory
 - Soviet summit
 - News reports
 - Kissinger's attendance at gridiron dinner, April 9, 1972
 - Possible opinions of the media and politicians
- Victories
 - Publicity
 - Military Region One
 - Stories in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*
 - North Vietnamese advances
 - Military Region One
 - Military Region Three
 - An loc
 - Quality of ARVN division
 - Chance of defeat
 - Possible fall
- South Vietnamese strengths
 - Abrams's and Ellsworth F. Bunker's assessments
- Current situation
 - Military Region One
 - Stabilization
 - Counterattack
 - Tanks
 - Destruction
 - Number
 - Military Region Two
 - Intelligence reports
 - Prisoners of war [POWs]
 - North Vietnamese losses
 - Air strikes
 - B-3
 - Military Region Three
 - Reinforcements
 - South Vietnamese divisions
- Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu's assessment
 - Airborne brigade
 - Binh Long
 - Bunker's view
 - Military Region Four
 - Small unit actions
 - Duration of offensive
 - Interrogation of POWs
 - North Vietnamese losses
 - Tanks
 - Numbers
 - Casualties

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

-Withdrawals

-Cambodia

-North Vietnamese divisions

-Military Region One

-Reorganization

-Timing of military operations

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

-Air support

-Counterattacks

Abrams and Bunker

-Reports

-The President's handling of crisis

-US bombing

-US options

-Possible blockade

-The President's speech

-Kissinger's opposition

-Future public appearances from the President

-Philadelphia

-Kissinger's trip to Japan

-Cancellation

-Soviet response

-Possible blockade

-USSR

-Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin

-Johnson

-US military action

-Timing

-Role in North Vietnam

-Speech

-Diplomacy

-Complexities

-Rhetoric

US-PRC relations

-Compatibility of interests

-Short term interests

-Long term interests

-CBW

-The President's Canadian speech

-Speechwriting

-George S. McGovern

Vietnam

-William F., Jr. and James L. Buckley

-Conversation with Kissinger

-Timing

-James Buckley

-Speechwriting

-Support for the President on bombing

-B-52s

-William Buckley

- Conversation with Kissinger
 - Location
- Call to brother
- Talk with Kissinger
 - Conservatives
 - Support for the President
 - End to criticism of administration
- William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - Support for the President
 - Call to other supporters
 - Attitude towards the war
- Stakes in war
 - Election
 - The President's speechwriters
 - Raymond K. Price, Jr. and Lee W. Huebner
 - Safire
 - Work with Kissinger
 - Phrase, *The Guns of April*
 - [Barbara Tuchman] and *Guns of August*
 - Safire
- Price
 - Safire
 - Price
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Military situation
 - Reaction
 - The President's effort
 - Press reports
 - Fear of South Vietnamese success
 - Possible events on May 1, 1972
 - Withdrawals
 - An loc
 - Quang Tri and Kontum
 - The President's speech
 - Timing
 - Success of Vietnamization and Nixon Doctrine
 - Haldeman
 - Foreign policy
 - Advantages
 - American opinion
 - Disadvantages
 - Possible weakness in Administration's stance
 - Timing
 - Impression on North Vietnam
 - Press
 - Nuclear weapons
 - Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Haldeman's judgment
 - Kissinger's judgment
 - Administration hawks

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- Weather
 - Air strikes
 - Military Region One
 - Impact
 - Concentration of force
- Negotiations
 - Possible settlement
 - Administrations possible tone
- Kissinger's trip to Japan
 - Cancellation
- The President's schedule
 - Haldeman
- Negotiations
 - Secret talks
 - Timing
 - The President's report
- Negotiations
 - Porter
 - Public talks
 - Role
 - Meeting with President
 - Porter's location
 - Timing
 - Statements
 - Edward M. Kennedy, *et al.*
 - Possible Porter statement
 - North Vietnamese reply
 - US conditions to the North Vietnamese
 - Baltimore Sun*
 - Disclosure of secret talks
 - Potential effect
 - Porter
 - Statement
 - US offers
 - Timing
 - Porter's posture
 - Rebozo's assessment
 - Resumption of talks
 - Timing
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Areas of fighting
 - Saigon
 - Attacks on US forces
- Blockade
- Losses
 - Chances of success
 - US air power
 - The President's view
- US counteractions
 - Concentration
 - The President's Soviet trip

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- North Vietnamese miscalculations
 - ARVN weakness
 - View of the President
 - Harriman, Clark M. Clifford
 - [Johnson]
- Rogers and Laird
 - Handling of crisis
 - Laird
 - Toughness
- US statements
 - Ziegler
- Press reports
 - Robert B. Semple, Jr. report
 - Sense of crisis in White House
 - White House advisors
 - Concern
 - Statements to press
 - Ziegler
 - Max Frankel
 - Assistance from Kissinger
- White House advisors
 - Semple
 - Cambodia and Laos
 - Kissinger, Haldeman, Alexander P. Butterfield, Charles W. Colson
 - Strength of stance
 - Weaknesses
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - George P. Shultz
 - Price and Patrick J. Buchanan
 - Cabinet
 - Presidential responsibility
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Lack of support for US policy
 - Air strikes
 - B-52s
 - Hesitancy
 - Naval gunfire
 - Intensity
 - Manila
 - US military
 - Responsiveness to demands
 - Destroyers and cruisers
 - Panama Canal
 - Soviets

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Kissinger's schedule

- Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
- Report to the President

Kissinger left at 9:55 am.

Date: April 10, 1972
Time: 9:55 am - 10:38 am
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

- The President's schedule
- Meeting with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Draft
 - Editing

Haldeman entered at 9:58 am.

- International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
- Robert C. Wilson
 - Charles W. Colson and Clark MacGregor
 - Dita D. Beard
 - Conversation with unknown person
 - Money
 - San Diego convention
 - Unknown person's support

Henry A. Kissinger entered at 10:00 am.

- Forthcoming remarks at signing of Biological Weapons Convention
- Drafts
 - Language
 - Restraint
 - Aggression
 - Disease
 - Inadequacies
 - Speech staff
 - President's view

- Vietnam
- Air strikes
 - I Corps

Butterfield and Kissinger left at 10:02 am.

- ITT case
- San Diego convention
 - Wilson
 - News summary report
 - William E. Timmons and Herbert G. Klein
 - Location

- Statement
- Inaccuracies in news reports
 - Robert H. Finch and Timmons
 - Baltimore Sun*
 - Miami and Chicago as convention sites
 - Possible other cities
- Republican convention
 - Cities
 - Choices
 - Administration's preference
 - MacGregor
 - Edward J. Gurney's debate with John V. Tunney
 - The President's telephone call to Gurney
 - Gurney's performance on *Face the Nation*
 - Tunney

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

[*Previous PRMPA Privacy (D) reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.*]

[Privacy]

[705-003-w002]

[Duration: 6s]

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case

- Republican convention
 - Edward J. Gurney's debate with John V. Tunney
 - John V. Tunney
 - The President's opinion

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case

- Tunney
 - Analogy to demonstrators at Key Biscayne
 - Manolo Sanchez's comments
 - Female demonstrators
 - Male demonstrators
- Gurney
 - Appearance and posture
 - Style
 - Debate with Tunney
 - Rapport with reporters

Congressional relations

Republican senators

- Barry M. Goldwater
 - Talk with the President

- Response to Democratic criticism on Vietnam
- Press coverage

Memoranda

- John D. Ehrlichman
- Crystal's [Surname unknown] work

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Canada

- The President's trip
- Speech to Parliament
- Revisions

Memoranda to Haldeman

Domestic programs

- Ehrlichman's job
- Problems
 - Public relations arrangements
 - The President's instructions
 - Haldeman's work with Colson and Ehrlichman
 - Mobilization of staff
 - Follow-up
 - Edward L. Morgan
 - Colson

The President's schedule

- Portrait
 - Cancellation
- Meeting with John B. Connally
- Meeting with John N. Mitchell
- Philadelphia trip
 - Demonstrators
 - Ottawa
 - Impact on war
 - John A. Volpe
 - Commitment
 - John Cardinal Krol
 - Political benefits
 - Vice President Spiro T. Agnew as substitute
- Meetings
 - Consumption of time
 - Domestic Council
- William F. ("Billy") Graham
 - Call from Kissinger
 - Advice
 - Political nature

Gridiron Dinner

- Goldwater's performance
 - Rebozo and Robert H. Abplanalp
 - Location

- Carl B. Albert and Warren E. Burger
- Abplanalp's account
 - Clark M. Clifford
 - David Kraslow
 - Rebozo
- Unknown women
- Goldwater
- Hubert H. Humphrey
 - Quality of performance
 - Assistance
 - One-liners
 - Paul W. Keyes
 - Compared to Leslie T. ("Bob") Hope
 - Quality
- Robert J. Dole
 - Keyes
- Goldwater
 - Keyes
 - Revisions
 - Kissinger
 - Frank F. Church
 - Goldwater
 - Jokes
 - The President's administration
 - Republicans
 - Goldwater's relationship with the President
 - Compared with Humphrey
 - Joke about Lyndon B. Johnson
 - Johnson's health

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Wilson

- ITT case
- President's view
 - Concern

California

- Unemployment
 - Figures
 - George P. Shultz
 - Department of Labor
 - Statistics

Domestic issues

- Shultz's role
 - Ehrlichman
 - Statements
 - George W. Romney
 - Meeting with the President
 - Alaskan pipeline
 - Rogers C. B. Morton's meeting with the President
- Management of issues

-Ehrlichman

- The President's instructions
 - Speeches
 - Public appearances
 - Concentration on big issues
 - Responsibilities and duties
 - Shultz
 - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.
 - Shift in emphasis of Domestic Council
 - Competence of personnel
 - Egil ("Bud") Krogh, Jr., Lewis A. Engman

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

-Issues to be emphasized

- Use of charts
- Busing
- Property taxes
- Food prices
- Environment
- Drugs
 - Marijuana
- Identification of big issues
 - Administration position
- Development of positions
 - Attack on Administration
 - Attack on opposition
 - Raising taxes
- Marijuana
- Morality
 - Abortion
 - The President's beliefs
- Administration's aggressiveness
 - Concern from the President
 - Domestic Council
- Environment

-Shultz

- Attendance at Conference Board, Inc. meeting
- Conversations with economists
 - Optimism about economy
 - Report
- Energy
 - Concern
 - Proposition 9 in California
 - Impact on industries and energy supplies
 - Edgar F. Kaiser
 - Pollution standards
- Environment
 - Blame on Democrats
 - Proposition 9
 - Threat to jobs
 - Pollution requirements
 - Opposition
 - Slogan on billboards

-Leader, Clem Whitaker, Jr.

Clem Whitaker, Sr. and Leonie (Smith) Baxter
-1962 California gubernatorial campaign

Gridiron Dinner

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

-Ronald L. Ziegler's absence

-Reasons

-Previous conversation with the President

-Lack of recognition as press secretary

-Compared with James C. Hagerty, Pierre E. G. Salinger, Klein and
Gerald L. Warren

-Introductions

Press

-Relationship with the President

-Soviet trip

-List

-Ziegler's views

-Exclusion of reporters

-Logistics

-Precedence

-The President's previous trip to the Soviet Union

-Enemies

-*Boston Globe* and *Newsweek*

-Logistics

-Accommodations

-People's Republic of China [PRC] trip

-Conversations with White House staff

-Friends in press

-Hugh S. Sidey

-Soviet trip

-Press pools

-Comparison to Tricia Nixon Cox's wedding

-John F. Osborne and Sidey

-Boycott

-Ziegler

-Kissinger's contacts

-Haldeman's view

-Rowland Evans

-Foreign policy coverage

-Sidey

-Favorable comments

-Credibility

Forthcoming remarks at signing ceremony of Biological Weapons Convention

-Drafting

-Theme

-Editing

-Raymond K. Price, Jr.

-William L. Safire

-Canadian Parliament speech

White House staff

-The President's speeches

-Price

-Duties

-Editing

-Research and writing

-Acceptance speech

-The President's instructions

-Amount of time to write speech

-Klein

-Ehrlichman

-Usefulness to the Administration

-Editing

-Foreign policy

-Staff

-Philosophical orientation

-Patrick J. Buchanan

-Compared with the President

-John K. Andrews, Jr.

-Problems

-Philosophical disagreements

-Importance of words

-Kissinger

-Canadian speech

-Drafts

-Lee W. Huebner

-Sentimentality

-Kissinger's responsibility for review

-References to Soviet Union and PRC in speech

-Kissinger's review on foreign policy speeches

-Soviet Union and PRC references

-Compatibility of interests

Connally

-Health

Haldeman left at 10:38 am.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 705-4

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 11:30 am - 11:33 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield.

Statement on the death of James F. Byrnes

- The President's review
- Release to press
- Formal statement

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Butterfield left at 11:33 am.

Conversation No. 705-5

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:41 am

Location: Oval Office

The President talked with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Project on voter participation

- Possible cancellation
- Political advisability
 - White House staff
- Boy Scouts of America
 - Comparison
- Purpose

Conversation No. 705-6

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:33 am and 11:41 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Request for meeting with Ronald L. Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 11:41 am.

Conversation No. 705-7

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 11:41 am - 11:44 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Ronald L. Ziegler.

Press statement

- Gaylord Shell of Associated Press [AP]
 - Ziegler statement
- The President's remarks at signing ceremony of Biological Weapons Convention (cont.)
 - Responsibilities of great powers
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]

Vietnam

- USSR
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's call to Henry A. Kissinger
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Mistakes
 - 1972 election
- South Vietnam
 - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
 - Reports
 - Strengths
 - Quang Tri
- US counterforce
 - Carriers
- Press reports
 - AP reports

Ziegler left at 11:44 am.

Conversation No. 705-8

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 11:44 am and 11:45 am

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[705-008-w001]

[Duration: 7s]

Greetings [?]

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 11:45 am.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Conversation No. 705-9

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 11:45 am - 12:23 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with William J. Porter and Henry A. Kissinger.

Greetings

Vietnam

-Negotiations

-The President's instructions to Porter

-State Department

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 11:45 am.

Press

-Presence at meeting

-Kissinger's opinion

-Paris

Photograph session

-Oliver F. ("Ollie") Atkins

-Distribution

-Press

-Porter

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:23 pm.

Atkins entered at an unknown time after 11:45 am.

[Photograph session]

Atkins left at an unknown time before 12:23 pm.

US leadership

-The President's view

-Department of State

-Partisanship

-Crisis in nation

-Sentimentality

-Tactical concerns

-Foreign service

- Recruitment of young men
 - Problems
 - Modern education
 - Shortsightedness
 - Need for risks and strong convictions

-Military

- The President's previous conversation with Adm. Thomas H. Moorer Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)
 - Bureaucracy
- Need for strength
- Ability to speak up

Vietnam

- Paris peace talks
 - Porter's handling
 - US position
 - Cessation
 - Reasons
 - US seriousness
 - Porter's strategy
 - Possible statement
 - William H. Sullivan
 - Conversation with Kissinger
 - Washington Special Actions Group [WSAG]
 - Timing of Porter's return to Paris
 - Public stance
 - US position
 - Robert J. McCloskey and Ronald L. Ziegler
 - The President's January 25, 1972 speech
 - Michael J. Mansfield's support
 - Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu's resignation
 - North Vietnamese position
 - Escalation of military activity
 - Resumption of talks
 - Timing
 - Escalation of military action
 - Announcement
 - US conditions
 - Past negotiations
 - US position
 - North Vietnamese position
 - Wording
 - Porter's statement
 - Build-up for press
 - Wording
 - Review of negotiating record
 - US offers
 - North Vietnamese position
 - US response
 - North Vietnamese violations of international law
 - Limits to negotiations
 - Porter's statement

- Preparation of press
- Porter's record
 - Previous trips to Vietnam
- Statement to the press
 - Emphasis on positive
- Porter's handling
 - US delegation
 - Release of statement
 - Television coverage
 - Duration
 - Peace offer
 - North Vietnamese response
 - Infiltration
 - Offensive
 - Possible statement
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - State Department response
 - US air strikes
 - B-52s
 - Increase
 - Numbers
 - Targets
 - Vinh
 - Size of strike
 - Proximity to Hanoi
 - Mikoyand and Gurevich [MIG]
 - Location of targets
 - Saigon area
 - New squadrons
 - Naval gunfire
 - Destroyers
 - Number
 - Cruisers
 - Number
 - Targets
 - Negotiations
 - Anatoliy F. Dobrynin's conversation with Kissinger
 - Soviet role
 - US settlement

US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations

- Biological Warfare Treaty
 - Dobrynin's remarks
 - Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] negotiations
- George R.S. Baring's [Earl of Cromer] remarks
- The President's remarks at signing ceremony
 - Disregard of sentimental rhetoric
 - Non-proliferation and seabed treaties
 - Importance of treaty
 - Peace in the future
 - Arms limitation

- SALT
- Super powers
- Encouragement not to use force
- Dobrynin
 - Press
 - Call to Kissinger
 - Message to Kremlin
- Biological Warfare Treaty
 - The President's remarks at ceremony
 - Tone
 - Dobrynin's presence
 - USSR's support of India over Pakistan and support of United Arab Republic [UAR]
- Soviet foreign policy
- The President's remarks at treaty ceremony
 - Future SALT agreement

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Vietnam

- Battle reports
 - Quang Tri
- South Vietnam
 - Artillery and infantry
 - Damage to tanks
 - Air Force
 - Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Reports of problems
 - Lack of coordination
 - Tanks
 - Artillery
 - South Vietnam
 - Air power
 - Military Region Three
 - South Vietnamese retreats
 - Thieu
 - Importance to overall strategy
 - US strategy
- Negotiations
 - Henry Cabot Lodge and Dr. David K. E. Bruce
 - North Vietnamese objectives
 - Return of (Madame) Nguyen Thi Binh to Paris
 - Major cities
 - Quang tri
 - Hue
 - Thieu
 - Cease-fire
- North Vietnamese objectives
 - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
 - Critics' response
 - Possible excuses
 - Cease-fire offer

- Thieu government
- Capture of cities
 - Problems
 - Possible US action
- Soviets
 - Thieu government
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Kissinger's view
 - Setbacks
 - Losses
- Cambodia and Laos
 - 1970 and 1971
- Prediction for 1973
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Commitment of divisions
 - Battle reports
 - Logistical problems
 - Time factor
 - Replacements
 - DMZ
 - Movement of troops
 - 325th division
 - Location
 - Movement of troops
 - DMZ
 - Training divisions
 - Compared with Tet offensive
 - Vietcong
 - Main forces
 - Losses
 - Long Tien
 - Possible weather concerns
 - Troop locations
 - Air strikes
 - 320th division
 - Thieu report
 - Concentration
 - B-52s and Tactical Air [TACAIR]
 - Effectiveness
 - Casualties
 - Potential number
 - Weapons
 - B-3
 - 320th division
 - Thieu
 - Withdrawal to Laos
 - ARVN units
 - 1st Airborne
 - Operations
 - Objectives
 - Possible political motivations

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- Negotiations
 - Possible North Vietnamese offer
 - Quang Tri province
 - Ceasefire
 - Thieu government
 - Possible resignation
 - Porter's schedule
 - Objectives
 - Hue
- Soviets

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Porter and Kissinger left at 12:23 pm.

Conversation No. 705-10

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:23 pm and 12:25 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull and Alexander P. Butterfield.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with directors of American Historical and Cultural Society, Inc.
 - Photographs
 - J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr.
 - Purpose of meeting
 - Activities of Society
 - Katherine (Merrill) Swim
 - Dudley Swim
 - Photographs
 - Gifts
 - Background
 - Flags

Bull and Butterfield left at an unknown time before 12:25 pm.

Conversation No. 705-11

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 12:25 pm - 12:38 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Robert W. Barker, Arch N. Booth, William N. Burch, George Champion, Jr., Mary Pillsbury Lord, James P. Low, Leonard H. Marks, Herbert E. Marks, J. Willard Marriott, Alice (Sheets) Marriott, William J. McManus, Charles S. O'Malley, Jr., A. Pollard

Simons, Katherine (Merrill) Swim, Walter E. Washington, C. Robert Yeager, John P. Cosgrove, John B. Kelly and David C. Hoopes; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Introductions and greetings

Unknown team

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

News report

Photographs

Dudley Swim

Marriott

[General discussion]

Group photograph

-Arrangements

Golf

-Partner

-Champion

Filming of event

Honor America Day

-Recognition

-Need for ceremonies

-Non-partisanship

-Film

-Distribution

-The President's appearance

-Twenty-sixth amendment

The President's administration

-Washington, DC crime rates

-Decline

-Walter Washington

-Baseball club [Washington Senators]

-Congress

George E. Allen

-Stadium seating

Gifts from the People's Republic of China [PRC]

-Trees

-Growing conditions

-Pandas

-Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

-Zoos

-San Diego, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis and Washington

Presidential gifts

-Women

-Golf balls

-The President' inscription

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Arbor Day

-Mrs. Nixon

Golf

-Champion

The President's trip to Florida

Golf

Barker et al left at 12:38 pm.

Conversation No. 705-12

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 12:38 pm and 12:44 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

Instructions

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:44 pm.

Conversation No. 705-13

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 12:44 pm - 1:06 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

US-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR] relations

-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin

The President's remarks at signing ceremony of Biological Weapons Convention

-Press release from Ronald L. Ziegler

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:44 pm.

- Copy for Kissinger
- Ziegler

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:44 pm.

- Delivery to the President

Bull left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

The President's trip to USSR

- Dobrynin
 - Bilateral issues
- Arrangements
 - Kremlin
 - Floor plan
- Press
 - Number
 - Ziegler

Manolo Sanchez [?] entered at an unknown time after 12:44 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez [?] left at an unknown time before 12:50 pm.

The President's trip to USSR

- Arrangements
 - Kissinger's telephone conversation with Dobrynin
 - The President
 - Dobrynin's trip to Moscow
 - Kissinger's trip to Japan
 - Cancellation
- The President
 - Refreshments

Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon

- Meeting with Mrs. Irini N. Dobrynin
 - Arrangements
- Attendance at James F. Byrnes's funeral
- Trip to Canada

The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:44 and 12:50 pm.

[Conversation No. 705-13A]

[See Conversation No. 22-94]

[End of telephone conversation]

US-USSR relations

- Mrs. Dobrynin
- Meeting with Mrs. Nixon
- Dobrynin's trip to Moscow
- Timing

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President talked with Mrs. Nixon between 12:50 and 12:51 pm.

[Conversation no. 705-13B]

[See Conversation No. 22-95]

[End of telephone conversation]

US-USSR relations

- Dobrynin
- Kissinger's call
- Mrs. Nixon's tea with Mrs. Dobrynin
- Arrangements
- The President's conversation with George R.S. Baring [Earl of Cromer]

Henry A. Kissinger talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 12:51 and 12:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 705-13C]

[See Conversation No. 22-96]

[End of telephone conversation]

US-USSR relations

- Mrs. Nixon's tea with Mrs. Dobrynin
- The president's conversations with Dobrynin and the Earl of Cromer
- Arrangements
- Media coverage
- Trips to Canada and South Carolina
- Timing

Vietnam

- South Vietnam
- Message to Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu
- Impact on Thieu's morale

The President's remarks at signing ceremony

- Gerard C. Smith
- Preparation
- Press coverage

- Kissinger's view
- Preparation

Vietnam

- Richard M. Helms
 - Call from Kissinger
 - B-52 strike
 - Timing
 - Support for the President

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President's remarks at recent signing ceremony

- Arms control
 - Use of force
 - Responsibility for phrase
 - The President's trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
- "Great powers"
 - Intervention in other countries

Kissinger talked with Dobrynin at an unknown time between 12:51 and 12:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 705-13D]

[See Conversation No. 22-97]

[End of telephone conversation]

US-USSR relations

- Kissinger's conversation with Dobrynin
 - Vietnam
 - Negotiations
 - Public proposals
 - Public pressure on US
 - Response

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Chances of South Vietnamese success

Ziegler entered at 12:59 pm.

Press briefing

- The President's remarks at recent signing ceremony
 - Gerald L. Warren
 - Vietnam
 - USSR
 - Dobrynin
 - Responsibilities of great powers
 - Encouragement not to use force
- Soviet role
 - Public remarks

The President's remarks at recent signing ceremony
-Kissinger's view

Ziegler left at 1:02 pm.

Kissinger's schedule
-Meeting with unknown person

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Vietnam

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

[National Security (B) withdrawal reviewed under MDR guidelines case number LPRN-T-MDR-2014-035. Segment exempt per Executive Order 13526, 3.3(b)(1) on 05/14/2019. Archivist:

MAS]

[National Security]

[705-013-w001]

[Duration: 37s]

VIETNAM

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 1

Vietnam

- Soviet ships into Hanoi
 - Surveillance
 - Presidential approval
 - Air
 - Destroyers
 - Soviet reaction
- Blockade
 - Mines
 - Preparations

Biological Warfare Convention Treaty signing ceremony

- Arms Control and Disarmament Agency [ACDA]
- The President's remarks on US-USSR relations
 - Dobrynin
- Value
- Timing
 - Moscow summit
 - Cancellation
 - Possible fall of South Vietnam

Vietnam

- North Vietnamese offensive
- Stakes in war for US
 - Compared with Boer war
 - Unknown person
 - British and French
 - Compared with Algerian war
 - Credibility of US foreign policy
 - Domino theory
 - Compared with Spanish civil war
 - Difference of time periods
 - Soviet arms
- Impact on Middle East
 - Kissinger's talk with Dobrynin
 - Israel
 - Possible outcome
- Impact on Berlin treaty
 - [David] Kenneth Rush
 - Development of treaties

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

US-USSR relations

- Mrs. Nixon
 - Meeting with Mrs. Dobrynin
 - Briefing paper
 - Kissinger's office
 - Meeting with Kissinger
- Kissinger's meeting with President and Mrs. Nixon
 - Talking points
 - Kissinger's parents
 - Kennedy Center

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Kissinger's parents
 - Photographs
 - Time
 - Duration
- Reception for National Alliance of Businessmen
- Meeting with Kissinger's parents
 - Louis Kissinger
 - Age
 - Time

Kissinger left at 1:06 pm.

Conversation No. 705-14

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 1:06 pm and 1:11 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Manolo Sanchez.

The President's schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[705-014-w001]

[Duration: 5s]

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 1:11 pm.

Conversation No. 705-15

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown after 4:00 until 4:41 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman; the recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.

White House staff

-[John D. Ehrlichman]

-Henry A. Kissinger

-George W. Romney

-John A. Volpe

-Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. and George P. Shultz

-Utilization

-Talk with Haldeman

[*Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022.
Segment cleared for release.*]

[Personal Returnable]

[705-015-w001]

[Duration: 1m 12s]

1972 campaign

- Unknown person's ideas
 - The President's conversation with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - Memo
 - April 7-9, 1972
 - Daily operation
 - White House staff
 - John N. Mitchell
 - Charles W. Colson
 - George P. Shultz
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
 - Charles W. Colson
 - H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman
 - John D. Ehrlichman
 - George P. Shultz
- Preparation speeches

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President's schedule

- Foreign policy
 - Speeches
- Hugh Scott- Michael J. Mansfield meeting
 - Changes
 - Upcoming trip to the People's Republic of China [PRC]
- Peter G. Peterson
- Arthur F. Burns-John B. Connally meeting
- Departure time for trip to Canada
- Leaders meeting
- Press conference
- Wednesday
 - Scott-Mansfield meeting
 - Breakfast meeting
 - Caucus
 - Timing
- Tuesday
 - Leaders meeting
- Meeting with Connally
 - Burns
 - Length
 - Smithsonian conference
 - Connally
 - Herbert Stein's memorandum
- Leaders meeting
- Cabinet meeting
 - Reason
- A picture
 - Unknown person's location

- A conference
- Preparation for speech
- Timing

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:15 pm.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- Speech for Kissinger's review
- Delivery
- The President's remarks
- Return to the President

Butterfield left at 4:16 pm.

- The President's schedule
- A picture
- Connally and Peterson
- Changes
- Trip to Canada
- Timing

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]
[705-015-w003]
[Duration: 3m 11s]

- The President's schedule
- Meeting with political group
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion
- Trip to Florida
- April 21-23, 1972
- Canceled in favor of Camp David trip
- Political meeting
- Camp David meeting
- John N. Mitchell's presence
- H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman's opinion

- 1972 campaign
- John [unknown last name]
- The President's memo
- Speakers
- List
- Julie Nixon Eisenhower
- Tricia Nixon Cox
- Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon)

1972 campaign

- Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon's attendance at James F. Byrnes's funeral
- Call to Maude (Busch) Byrnes
- Harry S. Dent
- Strom Thurmond

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Connally

- Unknown person's qualifications for unknown job

The President's schedule

- Politics
- Camp David
 - Connally's possible presence
 - Trip to Texas
- Trip to Florida
 - Mrs. Nixon

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[705-015-w004]

[Duration: 13s]

The President's schedule

- Trip to Florida
 - Thelma C. (Ryan) ("Pat") Nixon
 - Texas

The President's schedule

- Camp David
 - Compared with Florida
 - Weather
 - Facilities
 - Relaxation
- Televised press conference
 - Likelihood
- Speech
 - Vietnam
- Questions and Answers [Q&A] session

Vietnam

- Public relations efforts
 - Kissinger, John A. Scali and Ronald L. Ziegler
 - Hawks

- Speech
 - Value
 - Domestic impact
- Administration's policies
 - Domestic support
 - Impact on North Vietnam and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - USSR Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)
 - Berlin Treaty
 - Kissinger
 - North Vietnam
- Speech
 - William L. Safire's draft
- US actions
 - US destroyers
 - B-52s
- North Vietnamese offensive
 - Kissinger's suggestion
 - Possible South Vietnamese collapse
 - Impact on Soviet trip
 - Possible US loss of South Vietnam
 - The President's previous conversation with Kissinger
 - Impact on US foreign policy
 - Credibility of US in world
 - Middle East and Europe
 - Need for risks
- Stakes for US
 - Cabinet officers' understanding
 - Connally
 - William P. Rogers
 - Melvin R. Laird
 - Rogers
 - US actions
 - Necessity
- Speech draft
 - Phrase, "The Guns of April"
 - [Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August*]
 - Public knowledge of book
 - Haldeman's view
 - Safire

Foreign policy

- White House staff
 - Kissinger's earlier statement
- Biological Warfare Treaty
 - The President's remarks at signing ceremony
 - Authorship
 - Contents
 - Louis Pasteur
 - Significance
 - The President's remarks at ceremony
 - Intent

- Gerard C. Smith and William C. Foster
- Arms control
- Soviet line

Speechwriters

- Understanding of the President's policies
- Gen. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. and Kissinger
- Ability
- Patrick J. Buchanan
- The President's view
- Raymond K. Price, Jr.
- Safire
- Lee W. Huebner
- Problems
- Quality of writing

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Vietnam

- US actions
- Concentration on issue
- Politics
- Polls, trial hunts
- Domestic issues
- International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
- Charles W. Colson
- Clark MacGregor
- North Vietnamese offensive
- Domestic response
- Compared with Laos operation
- Decisive victory
- US commitment
- Saigon
- Critics
- Lack of patriotism
- Fears

Economy

- Unemployment
- Retail sales
- Wholesale Price Index [WPI]
- Consumer Price Index [CPI]
- Ehrlichman
- Food prices
- Drop
- Mansfield's statement
- Middleman
- News summary
- Public relations efforts

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:16 pm.

The President's schedule

- Meeting with Kissinger's parents
 - Arrival
 - Presidential gifts
 - Money clip
 - Compact

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

- Meeting with Connally

[Previous PRMPA Personal Returnable (G) withdrawal reviewed under deed of gift 10/04/2022. Segment cleared for release.]

[Personal Returnable]

[705-015-w008]

[Duration: 1m 35s]

1972 campaign

- John B. Connally
 - Involvement
 - The President's opinion
 - Possible talk with the President
 - Possible talk with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman and John N. Mitchell
 - Henry A. Kissinger [?]

Haldeman's responsibility

- White House staff

An unknown person entered at an unknown time after 4:16 pm.

Domestic issues

- Confusion
- Connally's advice
- Polls
 - Influence on Lyndon B. Johnson and the President
 - The President's view
 - Vietnam
 - Article by Robert B. Semple, Jr. in *New York Times*
 - Possible contacts in White House
 - Robert H. Finch
 - Donald H. Rumsfeld
 - Price
 - Leonard Garment

The unknown person left at an unknown time before 4:41 pm.

Vietnam

- White House attitudes
- Conversations with press
 - Kissinger
- Support for the President
 - Cabinet
 - Laird
 - Rogers
 - Support

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Haldeman left at 4:41 pm.

Conversation No. 705-16

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: 4:41 pm - 4:45 pm

Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger, Louis Kissinger and Paula (Stern) Kissinger; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings and introductions

Kissinger

[Photograph session]

- Arrangement

Kissinger

- Service to administration and world

Presidential gifts

- Presidential seal
 - Money clip
 - Compact

Photographs

- Copies

Previous visit

Louis and Paula Kissinger's grandchildren, Elizabeth and David Kissinger

- Intelligence

Henry A. Kissinger

Kissinger et al left at 4:45 pm.

Conversation No. 705-17

Date: April 10, 1972
Time: 4:45 pm - 4:46 pm
Location: Oval Office

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President met with Stephen B. Bull.

The President's schedule

- The President's remarks at reception for members of the National Alliance of Businessmen
- Number of guests
- Dinner at State Department
 - James D. Hodgson
- Gordon M. Metcalf
- John D. Harper
- Instructions for the President
- Refreshments
 - State Department dinner
 - Timing
 - Thelma C. ("Pat") Nixon
 - Attendance
 - Necessity

Bull left at 4:46 pm.

Conversation No. 705-18

Date: April 10, 1972
Time: 4:46 pm - 5:01 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. ("Bob") Haldeman.

Henry A. Kissinger

Food prices

Vietnam

- US policies
 - Domestic politics
 - Possible demonstrations
 - Staff meeting
 - The President's instructions to Haldeman
 - Kissinger

- Article in *New York Times* by Robert B. Semple, Jr.
 - White House contact
 - Identity
- 1972 election
- Peace efforts
 - William J. Porter statement
 - Negotiations
 - Outcome
 - Press hostility
- Press
 - Hostility to the President
- Reasons
 - Foreign policy
- Press
 - John F. Osborne and Hugh S. Sidey
 - Opposition
 - Cambodia, Laos and demonstrations
 - Criticism
 - Support on People's Republic of China [PRC] matter

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

The President's schedule

- Meetings with Cabinet members
 - Herbert Stein
 - George P. Shultz
- Free time
- Mornings
- Afternoons

White House staff

- Cambodia and Laos
- Stakes in Vietnam

Vietnam

- Press
 - Areas of support for policies
- Stakes in war
 - US defeat
 - Aggression
 - US casualties
 - Memorandum

Domestic issues

- National Alliance of Businessmen [NAB] reception
 - Value
- NAB programs
 - Minority hiring
 - Costs
- Concept of volunteerism
 - Haldeman's view
 - National Center for Voluntary Action
 - Local and national levels

- Great Society programs
 - Legal aid
 - Lawyers
 - Government interference
 - Radicals
 - Costs
- Impact

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Jews

- Kissinger's parents
- Number in world
 - Percentage in New York City
 - Other minorities
- Number
 - Political influence
 - Compared with Indonesians, Indians, Americans, Soviets, Japanese and Germans

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:46 pm.

The President's schedule

- NAB reception

Bull left at an unknown time before 4:59 pm.

Jews

- Ultraliberalism
- Adolph Hitler
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [USSR]
 - Franklin D. Roosevelt
- Republicanism
 - Influence before 1932
 - Economic status
 - Private enterprise
 - Blacks
- Democratic loyalties
- Kissinger

Foreign policy

- Kissinger
- State Department
 - Tactical issues
 - Crisis handling
 - Jordan
 - India
 - Cambodia
 - Laos
 - Vietnam
 - Policy advice
- PRC initiative
- Soviets

Alexander P. Butterfield entered at 4:59 pm.

The President's schedule

Butterfield left at 5:00 pm.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)

Unknown persons [Jews?]
-Actions

The President's schedule

The President and Haldeman left at 5:01 pm.

Conversation No. 705-19

Date: April 10, 1972

Time: Unknown between 5:01 pm and 11:59 pm

Location: Oval Office

Unknown [Secret Service agents] met.

The President's location
-Residence

[Previous archivists categorized this section as unintelligible. It has been rereviewed and released 10/04/2022.]

[Unintelligible]

[705-019-w001]

[Duration: 1m 30s]

General conversation

The President's location [?]

An unknown agent talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 5:01 pm and 11:59 pm.

[Conversation No. 705-19A]

Unknown person's location

[End of telephone conversation]

The recording was cutoff at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.

Conv. No. 705-19 (cont.)